

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 43

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18th, 1919

Price Twopence.



THE RIFT in the LOOT

MRS. BRITANNIA: After all the troubles I've gone through I believe he's going to have nearly as big a Navy as mine!

HANDS OFF RUSSIA!

BE SURE TO COME TO THE

MASS MEETING

AT THE

Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.,

To-day, Saturday, January 18th, 1919.

Doors Open at 6.30 p.m.

MAXIM GORKI ON THE BOLSHEVIKI.

Maxim Gorki, the famous Russian novelist, whose vivid portrayals of Russian life and character long stirred the world to sympathy with the ideals of the Russian Revolution, was at first antagonistic to the Soviet Government. He attacked the Bolsheviki in his paper, the *Novaya Zhizn*, and bitterly opposed the Soviet Government. The British Capitalist Press even reported that he had been executed by the Soviet Government.

Later, however, he became converted to Bolshevik methods, and accepted a post under the Soviet Government in order to help its literary and educational work. He has now definitely joined the Soviet Government, and has issued the following Manifesto to the civilised world:—

The war is at an end. German Imperialism has been defeated and has now to pay a heavy penalty for its lust of conquest.

The German proletariat, decimated by the war and exhausted by hunger, will dearly pay for the former victories, because in the past it obeyed the policy of its ruling classes.

On the other hand, the victors, who but a short time ago proclaimed to the world that they were destroying millions of human lives for the triumph of Justice and for the happiness of the peoples, have now compelled the defeated German nation to accept armistice terms which are ten times worse than those imposed on Russia by German Imperialism at Brest, and which threaten the German people with absolute starvation.

Day by day the cynicism and inhumanity of the Imperialists' policy grow more patent and threaten the peoples of Europe with new wars and fresh bloodshed.

President Wilson who but yesterday posed as the smooth-tongued champion of the liberties of the peoples and of the rights of democracy, is to-day* equipping an immense army for the "restoration of order" in revolutionary Russia, where the masses of the people have realised their lawful right to take the power of government into their own hands, and are striving as best they can to lay the foundations of a new society.

I will not deny that the reconstruction on which the Russian people are engaged was preceded, in many cases, by unnecessary destruction; but, more than any one else, I am in a position to declare that the cultural transformation which is taking place under peculiarly difficult conditions and for which heroic efforts are necessary, is gradually assuming dimensions and forms such as human history has not known hitherto.

This is no exaggeration. But a short time ago I was an opponent of the Soviet Government, and even now I differ from it on numerous points; nevertheless I can say that future historians, in appraising the work accomplished by the Russian workers during one short year, will have nothing but admiration and amazement for the grandeur of the present cultural work.

I will not undertake here to cite facts. I will say only that this work will at last associate the Russian masses with the culture of the world. Everyone who aims at the renovation of the world must rejoice at the rapidity, energy and zeal with which the Russian people is endeavouring to build up a new life. It is true that in this work, which is of world-importance, great mistakes and unnecessary cruelties have been committed. But what are they in comparison with the bestial horrors of the war which was caused by the British and German Imperialists? This accursed war has inflamed with hate the hearts of all European nations, and has absolutely killed the general realisation of the value of life and the worth of labour, which was already none too robust. But is it because of any lack of generosity in the

* This manifesto was issued last year.

Continued on next page.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Continued from front page.

Russian workers' treatment of their defeated class enemies that the Imperialists of Europe and America have declared war on the revolutionaries of Russia? No, things are not so scrupulously idealistic as the capitalist papers of England, France, America and Japan are trying to represent them. The situation is much simpler than they pretend: the Imperialists of the three continents are anxious to strengthen and to consolidate the political conditions and institutions which give them power over the mind and will of their people. These conditions allow the will and life of the majority to be disposed of by a small minority which has caused this senseless and cruel slaughter.

One would think that now every sensible and honest man and woman would clearly perceive the cruelty, the selfishness, the hypocrisy and stupidity of the capitalist order of things. It seems that now the time has arrived when every honest and thinking man and woman can see that Capitalism has lost its constructive ability, and has become a survival of the past, an obstacle to progress and civilisation, that it causes enmity between individuals, families, classes and nations, and that the beautiful ideal of the fraternity of the peoples cannot be realised so long as the irreconcilable struggle between Capital and Labour subsists.

I do not wish to deny the services rendered by capitalism in the past to the working portion of mankind, out of whose blood and flesh it has created the conditions for the transition to a new and more perfect and just social system under socialism. But now that the accursed war has revealed in the highest degree the meanness, the inhumanity and cynicism of the old system, it has pronounced its own death sentence.

We Russians, who are justly regarded as a culturally backward nation, a people without traditions, are therefore bolder, more rebellious and less attached to the inspirations of the past. We were the first to show the way to destroy the obsolete conditions of the capitalist order of society. We are convinced that in our great work we are entitled to the sympathy and assistance of the working classes of the whole world, as well as of those individuals who before the war already denounced the social conditions under which the masses live. If that denunciation were sincere and justified, it is the duty of all honest men and women in Europe and America to recognise our right to shape our life in the way we think necessary. If intellectual people have a real interest in the solution of the great social problem, they must revolt against those who aim at the restoration of the old regime, who are endeavouring to drown the Russian revolution in torrents of Russian blood, and who desire to subject Russia in order to plunder her, as they used to plunder Turkey and other countries before the war, and as they are preparing to plunder Germany now. These are the real intentions of the Imperialists, this is their sacred task.

The leader of the campaign against Russia is Woodrow Wilson.* The torch of the Russian revolution, which is throwing a light all over the world is firmly held by Lenin, and the proletariat. The intellectuals will have to decide who is nearer to them—the champion of the old regime, the representative of the culture-destroying system of government by minorities, which has now enslaved itself; or the leader and teacher of new social ideas and emotions, who embodies the beautiful ideal of labour happy in a fraternity of nations—an ideal which is precious to all workers.

At last every race and nation has at some time considered itself as a sort of Messiah whose mission is to save the world. It is obvious that history has now invested with this great mission the starving Russian people mutilated by three centuries of slavery and exhausted by the war.

In face of the danger of being crushed by the bandits of capitalism the Russian people say to the workers of the world and to all honest men and women: *Follow us to a new life for the creation of which we toil, unsparing of ourselves, of any one or anything save that ideal. We toil on amidst privations and sufferings, ardently hoping to achieve success. We leave our acts to the impartial judgment of history. Join us in our fight against the old order, in our work for a new structure and organisation of society and for the freedom and beauty of life.*

* This manifesto was issued last year.

Workers' Socialist Federation.

H. DEVINE

WILL LECTURE on "Ireland and the Present Political Crisis."

Chair—SYLVIA PANKHURST.

On FRIDAY, 24th JANUARY, 1919, at 8 p.m.,
At CAXTON HALL, Caxton Street, Westminster,
(1 min. St. James' Park und. and Victoria St.)

Discussion Invited. Come and bring your friends. Admission free.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

My dear Henry,—You will have noticed that in an aforetime article I suggested that when you wanted a pair of boots you did not mark a nice cross on a bit of nice official paper and wait for Parliament to pass an Act. I ventured to state that you went out and bought the boots forthwith. That excellent idea seems to have got into the minds of our troops, for I see they have been taking free joy-rides in Government lorries to Whitehall to help unwind some red tape. My only complaint is that they do not appear to have got far enough.

I do not wish for a moment to imply that they should have brought machine guns and made havoc with them. Or, in the words of a soldier poet: "Then with their trusty bombers turned and cleared the butchers out of Parliament." For one thing Parliament wasn't sitting. Besides I am not exactly what may be called a bloodthirsty person. Further, it is the exclusive right of a Government to turn machine guns on its subjects, and, as in the Turin riots, drop bombs from Caproni planes.

At the same time there is nothing to be affrighted of in a Red Revolution. The total casualties never come up to half those lost in a "big push." And at least there is something tangible that is being fought for. There has never been a "red revolution" that has ever approached the annual casualties suffered by workers in their industries. Seldom a day passes but some miners are entombed or blown up in the course of their daily work, fishermen lost at sea, or merchant sailors even since the load line was raised by the Man Who Won the War. There are fingers trapped in machinery, arms torn off, and heads scalped. Nobody ever worries about the "toll of industry."

Why should they?

The soldiers, as I said, stopped just short of where they should have begun. And what should they have done, Henry? That is not my business; I am not writing to incite to mutiny and harm to our liege lord the King. What I wish to say, and to say in the plainest English possible is this: When you see a man bungling a job you know how to do yourself, do you not brush the man aside and show him? When you see a man trying to dig a hole with a pitchfork, doesn't it occur to you to show him how to use a spade?

There is nothing like doing a job thoroughly once you have started. But it is not the way of Governments to do anything thoroughly. They believe in trying to straighten things out at the wrong end. They try to control food prices, and promptly the controlled food disappears, like eggs do at a conjurer's performance. It were far easier to control food, but that would be interfering with the sacred rights of property and bespoiling private enterprise.

That is not to say that any Government is capable of straightening things out, so that a perfect world of bliss is the result and everything in the garden is lovely. It is in the nature of elected representatives to know what they know, and to decline to be "shown better." When you have anything you want done, there is nothing half so good as doing it yourself. This applies to individuals as well as to nations, especially to nations. And, Henry acushla, there is nothing that can come up to a continent, nay, a world, at work for the benefit of all. Two hands are better than one. Sixteen nations by working together are more likely to make for progress and happiness in the world than by taking sides and cutting each other's throats in war or in the industrial market.

Russia is being encircled by the Allies. Germany is being blockaded by the Allies. And now these two unfortunate countries, which seek in vain for help from their fellow workers in Europe, wish to join hands for mutual protection. This is going too far for our Imperialist masters, who wish to exploit Russia and to gain the German industrial

markets. They are striving to turn them against each other so that they can be crushed separately.

This, you may say, Henry, is "tripe," as they say up North. But it is not "tripe" to a great many workers. They are so busy with their own small troubles. You do not stop to tie your bootlace when there is an earthquake and walls are falling about your ears. The walls are falling now, but Labour Conferences are still being held to inquire into the reasons for the walls falling. There is so much talk and so little done.

There are still only two classes, two nations in the world. The workers and the masters. This is what you should put into the very heart of your mind and remember. And this if only for selfish reasons. Every new clause of freedom you win, every betterment of life, every little luxury—all these are in danger of being lost so long as there are nations outside the gates who have different ideas of progress. Rightly or wrongly your fellow workers in Russia are striving for a better life, and for that they are being ringed in steel so that they are cut off from the world except by secret channels. Rightly or wrongly your German fellow workers are aiming at the same goal, the increased happiness of the German workers and, incidentally, your own. These also are being punished by a barbarous blockade that is killing women and children even more vilely than these Germans, at the bidding of officers and under the iron heel of discipline, killed by airship bombs.

If only selfishly, as I said, it is to your advantage to have these Russian workers and these German workers freed from outside interference which hinders their development towards real freedom and real happiness. When your time comes to enter on the inevitable struggle with your masters, you will want a fair field and no favour. If Tsarism is restored in Russia and Kaiserism in Germany, these will you have to reckon with in your turn. And they will crush you with as much mercy as the Finnish monarchists treated the Red Guards and others suspected of Bolshevik sympathies.

The war is far from over. And, indeed, it may be said to be only beginning if you fail this day of days, when your fellow-workers in Germany and Europe are calling to you. Peace negotiations have begun, but you will notice that Germany and Russia are to be left out. You will notice that Japan has five delegates and gallant little Belgium two. But the most noticeable point is that the working classes will not apparently whisper at it.

This fact, Henry, should prove to you what you have won in this war. It should prove to you that your own war has still to be fought. For the sake of justice, for the sake of right, and for the sake of real freedom you will stand by your own class at home and abroad. For the sake even of your own future happiness and safety, for the happiness and safety of your children, you will step in and have your say. There has been much talk of intervention in Russia and Germany. Let that intervention, then, be the Intervention of the Working Class.

YOU appreciate the excellent Russian News which appears in the 'Workers' Dreadnought'; therefore help to make it widely known.

WORKSHOP NOTES. By W. F. Watson.

THE RUSSIAN CONFERENCE.

The Anti-Intervention Conference and Mass Meeting arranged for January 18th at the Memorial Hall will be a bumper Conference!

One of our L.W.C. comrades in addressing a meeting a week or two back mentioned that fighting was still going on in Russia. A woman friend in the audience did not believe it so she wrote to *The Daily Chronicle* asking if it were true, and the reply from United Newspapers Ltd. was—

"To say that our men are still fighting the Russians is hardly a correct statement. There are a few rebels up and down who would seek to continue hostilities by occasional skirmishes, but altogether it does not amount to much." (Copied from original letter.)

Comment is superfluous. This is absolutely the limit!

DOCK WORKERS DEMAND FOR FIFTEEN SHILLINGS WEEKLY INCREASE.

The Poplar Hippodrome was a full house last Sunday morning. The River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee called a Mass meeting to decide what action should be taken to enforce the demand for the 15s. per week increase for all trades in the Dock area. The meeting had been well organised, and reflected great credit on the Secretary of the R.T.S.S. Committee, W. Day, E.T.U., who certainly knows how to handle these matters. The workers who managed to get inside the Hip., showed their appreciation of the music, under the direction of Paul Goth, of the S.S. Committee; the call for literature was surprising, Mrs. Walker, Jo. Burke and their helpers had a busy time, and were sold right out before the meeting began. The supply of DREADNOUGHTS, *Solidarities*, and other papers was insufficient to meet the demand.

The Chairman, T. Brown (whose voice was not as strong as the occasion required) made known the business of the meeting, and quickly called upon the Secretary of the Joint Standing Committee of Shipping Trades to outline the position up to date. Freeman did so; pointing out that the Committee had been responsible for the 45 hour week now operating in the dock area, and said that no other port in the country had better conditions than London. He read a letter from the Ship Repairers' Association, in which they expressed regret that his Committee would not allow the matter to go to arbitration. They were not prepared to grant the 15s. increase, as it would put London at a disadvantage in repair work as far as they were concerned, but would agree to discuss the question on a national basis. Freeman who was very cautious and orthodox in his remarks said this would have to be dealt with in "a cold-blooded business manner." He advised the use of political action.

Sam. Bradley, A.S.E. District Secretary, struck the right note with his attack on the sectionalism of the past, and the audience readily responded. He announced that the A.S.E. had decided to join the River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee by a vote of 500 in favour, to 143 against. His call for the total abolition of overtime received applause.

Bill Webb, District Secretary E.T.U., laconic as usual, stressed the need for direct action, if they wanted 15s. plus, they must get it, talk would not put it in the pay bag.

The Chairman asked for questions which came in plenty; answers were required on Bolshevism, the question of Income Tax, overtime, whether the Labourers stood in for the fifteen bob, the terms of affiliation to the newly formed East London Workers' Committee &c.

It was stated that delegates had been appointed to attend the E.L. Workers' Committee, and that machinery was in operation to prevent work being done at other ports in the event of a stoppage in London.

After questions, the star turn, H. Pollit, of the River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee, expressed the views of the advanced section of the rank and file, in splendid style. Using language that was easily understood by the audience, he reminded them that the S.S. Committee was a revolutionary body, recalled the rebels of old times, Wat Tyler, and the men of Kent and Essex. He drove home the need for the workers to support their own papers, and made the interesting announcement of the appearance in the near future of *The Consolidator*, to be published by the River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee. He urged the meeting to cease work should the 15s. be missing from their pay bags at the end of the week.

A resolution was moved on those lines. In answer to a question as to the relation of the

River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee and the official bodies, in the event of the employers refusing to grant the demand; Day said the S.S. Committee was going to take the mandate from that meeting, which nobody could say was not a representative one. If any official present was not prepared to accept the mandate from that meeting, now was the time for him to speak (or for ever hold his tongue).

Sam Bradley, "the official who was unafraid," pointed out the need for sufficient time to put the case before the masters. Freeman, also, on similar lines. Webb asked for method in their madness, and said the E.T.U. would give full support. An Amendment was then moved, "That in the event of the Employers refusing the increase of 15s. within 14 days from this date, this mass meeting instruct the River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee and the J.S. Committee of S. Trades to call a strike of all trades in the Dock area."

Being put to the meeting it was carried by 1,008 for, against 534, as the substantive resolution carried unanimously. The meeting was a fine expression of solidarity and proves that the Shop Stewards' Movement is firmly established in Dockland. All credit to the active minority which has been responsible for this good work!

J. T.

LONDON AND DISTRICT COUNCIL OF SHOP STEWARDS AND WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

The first meeting of the executive was held on Wednesday, January 8th. After a very interesting discussion the following was agreed upon as the objects of the Council—

"To co-ordinate the activities of all Shop Stewards, Workers, Road, Garage, Station, Industrial and Vigilance Committees and all other unofficial rank and file movements, and to propagate amongst the workers the principles of Industrial Unionism."

The Council accepts affiliation from all the above committees, and the basis of delegation shall be not more than two delegates from each committee.

A good start has been made and I have great hopes of the future of the Council.

THE FORTY-SEVEN HOUR WEEK IN OPERATION.

The employers apparently are determined not to let production suffer from the reduction of the working weeks as the following extracts from a circular issued by the Employers' Federation shows—

December 31st, 1918.

I. HOURS OF WORK.

(a) The hours of work to be adopted, viz., 47 per week on the "one break" system are to be 47 hours of actual work. Any other breaks are to be abolished.

(b) Workmen presenting themselves after the time fixed for starting work should not be allowed to start until after the next break unless it is due to transport delays.

NOTE—

1. The question of whether the lateness is due to transport delays should not be left to the determination of timekeepers or similar subordinates. It should be settled by a responsible official. Steps should be taken to verify any statements as to delays.

2. Complete records should be kept of all the causes of transport delays with a note of the circumstances. These records should be frequently reviewed by the Management and should be reported to the Association.

3. All time lost must be deducted before overtime is paid.

4. Habitual late timekeepers should be specially noted.

(c) On no account should workmen—whether on time or on payment by result—be permitted to prepare or take food during working hours.

NOTE.—Where facilities are provided in the establishment for the heating or preparation of meals it is suggested that persons should be detailed by the firm to make the necessary arrangements for the preparation of the food, &c. Persons engaged in production should not be allowed to do so.

So you free born Britishers, who have just won the greatest war in history, get your noses right down at starting time and don't dare to lift them until the hooter goes at knocking-off time. These restrictions are being resented everywhere and the workers are revolting. The workers at Clement Talbots, in W. London, are still on strike and very solid. I suggest we set about formulating a national demand, in conjunction with the Miners, for a six hour day and five day week with a minimum wage of 30s. per day for all grades.

CHRISTMAS BEHIND BARBED WIRE.

Knockaloe Aliens' Camp.
Christmas, 1918.

This is the fifth Christmas we have spent behind barbed wires. Four lost years! four years far away from civilisation, from work, from all the comforts and joys of life; cut off from home and friends, from wife and child; ruin and the broken bonds of friendship stare us in the face.

What has been our crime, that I and thousands of my fellow prisoners should be punished so hardly?

We were born in Germany. We belong to it by birth, not by choice. We are said to be enemies of this country, and, alas! many of us, after these long terrible years of suffering, have been made to believe it, just as the people of England also came to believe it when the press started its unjust campaign against us. They were ready to cry: "Down with them! Never, never again shall those alien enemies be permitted to walk on our sacred soil."

We are kept still here, although the spirit of freedom is rising round us! For what reason? Perhaps only those can answer that question who have some selfish interest in it. I, for my part, cannot believe that the people of England would tolerate our internment for an hour longer if they knew the real truth.

Much has changed since 1914. Germany is no longer ruled by the Kaiser and his clique. The German people have freed themselves and there is not one amongst us here who did not rejoice over that triumph, not one who did not feel his blood run quicker at the mere thought of a democratic Germany.

Our first thought was that the hour of liberty had struck—and for us, too—that a democratic England would now open the strictly guarded gates of our exile. Alas! the politicians made us the object of election propaganda, once more popular hatred was turned against us. And, helpless as we are, all our protests remain within the barbed wires.

With all my heart and soul I wish that these lines might inspire the conscience of the British workers to see that justice is done to us. If release to our English homes is still impossible, then give us our liberty, send us to any place in the world outside barbed wires—even back to Germany. Help us to become once more real living creatures. Help thousands of innocent brother workers to breathe once more the air of freedom and goodwill. Give us back the sun of life! This is a Christmas appeal from one of the darkest places in the so called civilised world.

Round me as I write I see white faces, the faces of men of all ages from 20 to 50 years, all bearing the marks of impaired physique and mental powers—men with broken hearts, with slow, painful, tired movements. Please help them! Every day longer makes them more restless—the grey, heavy atmosphere of their present life takes away from them the last ounce of vitality. Five years, wasted years, lie behind us!

The world is at last throwing off the heavy burden of militarism. Freedom! Liberty! we hear from all sides. May we not also at last participate in the beautiful re-creation of humanity?

Forget us not in this great hour of hope!!
A VOICE.

WOMEN WORKERS.

Just prior to the signing of the Armistice an agreement was arrived at between the Ministry of Munitions and the National Aircraft Committee to the effect that women workers should receive a minimum of 10d. per hour, or if doing the same work as men they should receive the same pay. An Order confirming this was about to be issued when hostilities ceased and nothing more has been heard of it. Evidently the Government desires to let it drop, but not so the London and District Council of Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees which have decided to bring pressure to bear upon the National Aircraft Committee and the Ministry to secure the enforcement of such an Order made applicable to all Women Workers.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation,
Telephone: EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.
Back Numbers, 4d. post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at
400, Old Ford Road, London, E.2

All business communications to the
MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. V., No. 43.

Sat., January 18th 1919.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The proposals of General Smuts for a League of Nations are decidedly uninspiring and force one to exclaim: "What an over-rated individual this man is!" But we should not be too critical of him, for probably this scheme is only the Government scheme put forward in this way to see how it is received. He suggests that there shall be a Conference of the League, in which all the nations are to be represented equally, but this Conference is to have no power. Oh, no, no! the great Powers would never consent to run the risk of being outvoted by a combination of small nations!

Therefore, whilst the Congress of the League is to be a mere debating arena, "the real work of the League will be done by its Council." The Council alone will make binding decisions. The permanent members of the Council are to be Britain, France, Italy, the United States of America, and Japan. Germany will be admitted "as soon as she has a stable democratic government," or, in other words, when she has the government the Allies approve and when the Allies decide to allow her to come in.

And Russia? Russia would certainly have been admitted as one of the Great Powers if the Czar had been reigning, but now, poor thing, she has become a Socialist nation and so she must occupy a very different position. These Great Powers are all given equal voting strength on the Council; they will be always present; the other countries are to appear in rotation only, and only four at a time, in order that the Great Powers may always possess an absolute majority. The lesser states appearing in rotation are to be chosen from two panels, one comprising the minor States; the other including important Powers below the rank of a Great Power, amongst which are counted "Spain, Hungary, Turkey, Central Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Greater Serbia, &c."

From this it would appear that General Smuts intends that Russia shall be cut up and her separate parts divided absolutely; so shall her pride and power be lowered—we conclude because her people have become Socialists. General Smuts further suggests that no decision should be carried out if a minority of three opposes it, so that though he says he regards it "not only as a possible means to prevent future wars, but much more as a great organ of the ordinary peaceful life of civilisation," on most occasions it is obvious that it would be prevented from coming to any decision.

As for Conscription, Smuts recommends:—

"That all nations represented at the Peace Conference shall agree to abolish conscription or compulsory military service, and that their future defence forces shall consist of militia or volunteers, whose numbers and training shall, after expert inquiry, be fixed by the Council of the League."

We fear that in practice this would only mean conscription under another name. Indeed, those who genuinely desire the abolition of conscription should really wake up and take action. Moreover, the proposal to empower the permanent representatives of the Great Powers to fix the armies to be maintained by the smaller Powers and nations, which are not even to be present to raise a voice in protest, is one to which the smaller countries would never agree except under a compulsion too strong for them to resist.

"The limitation of armaments in the general sense" is, according to Smuts, impracticable, but "the Council of the League shall determine what direct military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable." Again, the smaller unrepresented nations would find such dictation a monstrous injustice.

"In order to prevent wars" it is proposed that members of the League shall bind themselves not to go to war without submitting the dispute to the Council and until the League has made an award or issued a report on the matter, and not even then, against a country which has complied with the award of the Council. If any country breaks this compact all the other members of the League will make war on it by commercial boycott and military force.

Surely it is obvious that this mechanism provides no guarantee against war. As a matter of fact, if it is actually established it will, probably become the engine by which the forces of Capitalism will prosecute the international civil war against Socialism, which already is so extensive. The anti-Bolshevik Russians, who find the Soviet State too firmly entrenched to be overthrown by them, are already asking that the League of Nations shall aid them in their reactionary fight.

M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, has suggested that an inter-Allied force should be sent out against the Soviets, in which case a comparatively small army might be drawn from each country and the bulk of the discontented soldiers might be allowed to demobilise.

Mr. Asquith, who has more than once expressed his approval of intervention, has sent a message to *The League of Nations Journal*, in which some exceedingly ominous passages occur. He says that the League of Nations

"will equip itself with the machinery for intervention and conciliation, for judicial arbitrament in all international differences."

"In the last resort its decisions will be armed with the sanctions of the common will, and, if need be, of joint coercive action."

"It will be free to treat as outside the comity of nations such States as still adhere to militarism and the rule of force." [italics ours]

All existing States at present rely on "the rule of force"; every one has its Army and Navy and police force; what happens to the citizen who disobeys the British law? Force is applied to him. What happens if a nation not too big to be coerced defies the might of Britain? Is not force applied? But it is precisely the accusation that they rely on force that the anti-Socialists have found most convenient to fling at the Soviets which those same accusers are endeavouring to destroy by force.

The Peace Conference.

Secret diplomacy of the old Capitalist school, under which the world has so long suffered, is now in full swing in Paris. President Wilson, acclaimed as the advocate of "open diplomacy," is holding private conversations just like the rest. The newly-elected British Parliament is not called together to express its views on the all-important question of the Peace and its members make no protest. It is said by their Capitalist enemies that Lenin and Trotsky are dictators, but it is not thus that things are done in Soviet Russia. Every stage of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations was published to the world. The Russian people knew all that their representatives were doing on their behalf and nothing that those representatives did had any power to bind the Soviet Republic until it had been ratified by the Congress of Soviets.

Evidence that General Smuts's League of Nations scheme is in line with the policy of those who rule the Allied Great Powers is to be found in the fact that at the Peace Conference the five great Powers alone will decide everything. The smaller Powers and nations will only be permitted to submit their views to sub-committees arranged by the five Great Powers. The sub-committees will then report to the great ones, who will act as it may please them. Mr. Lloyd George is reported to be advocating that Soviet Russia should be allowed representa-

tion at the Peace Conference on these terms. Soviet Russia, able to speak only to sub-committees, and even there, as the only Socialist nation, being in a majority of one, would be outvoted probably on every point. The Peace Conference would probably decide that the Soviets should do all sorts of things that are contrary to their principles, contrary to the very fundamentals of their existence. Then, according to the rules of the new League of Nations, the new international police force would be employed against them. Fellow Socialists, what do you think of that?

The Intervention in Russia.

It is now stated that there are only 20,000 Allied troops in Russia; but, as Commander Wedgwood asks: does "Russia" in this connection include Siberia, the Baltic Provinces, Baku, the Ukraine, and the land of the Don Cossacks? Also, as the Allies and America are so frequently referred to separately, does it include the 15,000 American troops? So many inaccurate statements are made on behalf of the Government that one must probe very closely into this matter if one is to discover the truth. Dr. Harold Williams, *The Daily Chronicle* special correspondent in Russia, who is an advocate of intervention, complains that the Allies are "reduced to employing coloured troops in the centre of Russia!"

Soldiers and Sailors Check Intervention Plans.

The revolt of the soldiers and sailors, who demanded their demobilisation, has undoubtedly come as a serious check to those whose ambitions were urging them on towards a gigantic invasion of Russia. Neither British nor French soldiers can be roused to enthusiasm in the cause of crushing a working peoples' Socialist Government in Russia, especially at the close of a four years' war.

Those who desire to crush the Soviets at all costs must therefore resort to other measures: "economic encirclement," starving out Russia by blockading her ports and holding up her railway communications is a potent weapon. Moreover, there is the prospect of military aid from Poland. The Polish landowners and capitalists are not loth to make war on Bolshevism, because Polish Bolshevism, encouraged by the success of Russian Bolshevism, is every day making greater headway in Poland, and Russia will give the Polish Bolsheviks all the help in her power. Paderewsky, the first Polish President, is urging the Allies to send trained officers, munitions, and equipment for the Polish army, and, according to *The Daily News*, it is suggested by the Peace negotiators in Paris that a number of Allied detachments should support the Polish troops, and it is stated that America is ready to send an expeditionary force to Poland. The American troops may be ready: their experience in the war was short; but which of the other Allied armies is willing to continue the strife?

We believe that the British soldiers have struck a more crushing blow at the Allied intervention in Russia and against the continued occupation and blockade of Germany than is generally realised. For wars are costly things, and though money was poured out without question during the great war, the Government will not now be able to continue spending money on wars without coming to Parliament for a vote of credit. The British public, even at the close of a costly war, might still be willing to go on paying for the upkeep of British soldiers fighting overseas, but only that section which is directly making money out of the intervention is likely to tolerate continued heavy taxation for the upkeep of foreign troops. Lloyd George has a large majority pledged to subservience behind him in the House of Commons, but there are men and women outside the House who think and feel, and the soldiers and sailors have shown them how to act.

It would be curious if after all that has been said, America should finally be left as the only one of the Allies whose people are willing that their Government should finance and send

Continued on next page.

THE NEW CABINET.

The new Cabinet is of the type that drives peoples to Revolution. It contains many hustling capitalists of the modern school, who by the positions assigned to them will secure abundant opportunities (which they may take or leave) to reap advantages for themselves and for their class. For instance, Sir Albert Stanley, a railway magnate, becomes President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Andrew Weir, a great engineering and munition making employer, is made Minister of Munitions, and Sir J. Maclay, a Glasgow shipowner, becomes Minister of Shipping. Mr. Shortt, the new Home Secretary, has been learning how to deal with popular unrest, in Ireland, where such things are habitually done more high-handedly than is usual in Britain.

Ireland.

Ireland, on the other hand, is to have two War Department men to govern her. Viscount French, who hitherto has never held any but military appointments, remains Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. J. T. Macpherson, who proved exceedingly adamant at the War Office, becomes Chief Secretary. The advocates of a "firm hand" in Ireland have undoubtedly got their way this time. Let us see how they will take it!

Mr. Balfour, as Foreign Secretary, is a guarantee that the old methods of diplomacy are not to be replaced by the "new spirit" of which we hear so much, but, alas, see so little. Lords Milner and Curzon, the one as Colonial Secretary, the other as Lord President of the Council, and Leader in the Lords, with their records in Egypt, South Africa, and India, foreshadow a policy, that to say the very least of it, is the reverse of democratic; whilst Mr. Cecil Harmsworth and Colonel Amery, the Under-Secretaries at the Foreign and Colonial Offices, ensure that hustling, grabbing, bellicose, modern capitalist-imperialism will have its way, and Mr. Churchill's appointment as War Minister indicates that the Government is not shaping its course towards universal peace. Mr. Churchill can always be counted on to pursue an aggressive policy.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Bonar Law is still to remain "leader" of the House of Commons. Why is Mr. Lloyd George still refusing the task which is usually undertaken by Prime Ministers? His excuse in the last Parliament was that the business of the War Cabinet prevented his attendances in the House; but what excuse will he offer now? The real reason, it appears to us, is that Parliament has less and less to do with matters of Government and therefore the Prime Minister considers it a waste of time to be present during its deliberations.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (Continued).

troops to aid the intervention in Russia. Nevertheless, a too optimistic view of the situation must not be taken. The triumph of the Soviets means the eventual downfall of the entire Capitalist system, and the Capitalist forces will not submit without a very determined struggle. Yet to continue war against revolutions abroad is to produce in every country a revolution at home.

Nevertheless, day after day news comes of further armed attacks by the Allies on Soviet Russia, and this in spite of all the rumours that the intervention will not be pressed any further.

Meanwhile the strength of the Soviet Republic grows; the Mensheviks, all the progressive Social Revolutionaries, and the Co-operators uniting in support of the Bolsheviks.

The Crisis in Germany.

The struggle between the Spartacus Party and the old pro-Kaiser's Government Social Democrats is acute, and protracted, and though rumour and exaggeration must be taken into account, there is no doubt that the fighting there, is of a character which did not occur when the Bolsheviks came into power in Petrograd. It would seem that in Petrograd events took

The Labour Ministers.

Mr. Barnes is a Minister without Portfolio. He is not "on the mat" yet; but to all intents and purposes he is superannuated. Mr. G. H. Roberts occupies the unpleasant position of Food Controller, a post which will become increasingly unpopular now that the great war with the Emperors is over. The workers of this country are beginning to understand that the war with Russia and the continued occupation and blockade of Germany are attacks on working-class Socialism: realising this they will not be content to remain indefinitely on short rations in order to facilitate those attacks. The appointment of a Conservative lawyer, Sir R. S. Horne to be Minister of Labour is the measure of the Government's respect and solicitude for the workers. Mr. Wardle whilst powerless to act will have to defend the policy of his chief in times of trouble. Mr. Stephen Walsh declined the offer to place himself in a similar position at the Local Government Board where he would have had to share the Government's unemployed difficulties. Such is the penalty which falls on those who leave their Labour colleagues to join a capitalist coalition.

India.

The Indian appointments are claimed as advanced, but what are the facts? Mr. Montagu, the second son of Lord Swathling, was given an Under-Secretaryship as soon as he entered the House of Commons in 1906, and has been in some office or other ever since; the way of promotion is always open to sons of the aristocracy. His methods at the India Office were not democratic and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, as we showed in the special Indian Supplement which we published on September 7th, 1918, is a highly reactionary document, though it has been eulogised as if it were exactly the reverse.

The appointment of Sir Satyendra Prassano Sinha as Under-Secretary for India is said to be a startling innovation, because he is of Indian birth; but, whilst it is true that this is the first time that an Indian has held such an office, there is no reason to anticipate any result from his appointment. Sinha alone will be quite powerless. Moreover, he is not a man of courageous and independent type and his attitude towards the toiling masses of India is not very markedly different from that of any well-to-do Conservative Britisher. The division between the employing and working-classes everywhere, is constantly tending to become more sharply defined than any racial distinctions between the employing classes, though of course the racial barriers which are built up in the British Empire against the Indians of all classes are exceedingly grievous

and unjust. Sinha was a leading barrister in Calcutta. He earned a large income and sat in the Indian National Congress on the moderate side. When Lord Morley's scheme for the first time made it possible for an Indian to belong to the Viceroy's Executive Committee, Sinha was appointed to the committee as a legal member, and paid a high salary. He resigned ostensibly on the score of ill-health but it was generally understood by his fellow Indians that his resignation was due to the fact that he was powerless and obliged to submit to dictation. This gained him great popularity, and, as a mark of appreciation, his compatriots elected him President of the Indian National Congress. This is a body which agitates purely in the interests of the educated and higher classes of India; it does not contemplate the position of the working classes, and Sinha has never been known in connection with any movement for the advancement of the masses.

Having become President of the Congress, Sinha disappointed those who had put him there by his retrogressive and undemocratic policy. He showed plainly that he desired an oligarchy of the privileged few. Once again he accepted office from the Viceroy, becoming a member of his legislative Council and, in that position, supporting schemes of Home Rule for India which would completely have barred out the working classes from any voice whatsoever in municipal or national affairs. In 1917 he was appointed by the British Government to come to England to take part in the Imperial War Conference, in conjunction with the Dominion Premiers. Sinha was, no doubt, a mere cipher in that conference; but his fellow Indians complain that from that time forward, he has adopted the policy of going as far as the British Government desires, and no farther. It is rumoured amongst the Indians here, that, as it is feared he may not be able to stand cross-examination by the few democratically-inclined persons who have seats in the House of Commons, Sinha may be made a Law Lord, in order that he may sit in the safety of the Lords. Be that as it may, it is doubtless hoped in some quarters that the example of Sinha's magnificent career may shine like a beacon-light before the imagination of the young educated Indians and cause them to work to achieve such personal greatness, rather than to choose the hard and dangerous course of striving to secure the emancipation of the entire people of their motherland.

We are not dismayed by the reactionary character of the new Cabinet, since we believe that its actions will stimulate the desire which is growing amongst the workers everywhere to replace Capitalism and its Parliament by a Workers' Industrial Republic.

in company with the old-fashioned politicians and diplomatists. Russia, too, will be unrepresented by those who are able to voice the new life which has transformed her. Politicians of the old regime, whose power has gone, will engage in fruitless never-to-be fulfilled bargains concerning her future.

The International.

The International Socialist and Labour Congress, whether it be held at Lausanne or elsewhere, cannot be a genuine International, because those who are to-day leading the Socialist movement—the Russian Bolsheviks and the Spartacists of Germany—will be absent from its councils, as from the official Peace Conference.

Little as we expect from this Congress, we can at least consider it a healthy sign that the most reactionary of the Labour officials have refused to attend it. We welcome the attempt of old Sam Gompers to start a new congress of people possessing his own outlook. This will clear the air and show the world of workers how things stand.

Meanwhile our policy must be to work for the establishment of the Soviets in Britain.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

TROTSKY'S SPEECH ON THE RED ARMY.

The following speech by Trotsky (President of the Supreme War Committee), which was delivered on September 30th, 1918, at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and is reprinted from the *Izvestia*, October 2nd, constitutes the first authentic report on the Red Army and the military situation generally that has reached this country. Consequently, although belated in arrival, it is of great interest. It serves both to hearten us in our hope that the Soviets are able to survive all attacks and to show us that the Allied Governments are using the Allied peoples in a very dangerous enterprise when they send them to attack Socialist Russia. Trotsky said:—

The general situation on our fighting fronts may be accepted as completely satisfactory. And, if we consider it with a certain amount of historical perspective and anticipation of the next two or three months, the situation must be more than satisfactory to anyone. There can be no doubt that an Army has been created. We have an Army and a good one. It is not yet large enough to equal the numerical strength of our enemies, but it is growing. Strong and reliable cadres have been formed on all fronts which we shall supplement; and in a very short time we shall have produced a good, strong and organised Army, which will show our enemies that Russia is not an easy prey.

Turning our attention to the individual fronts, we must observe on the northern, first of all, that the situation is well in hand, and that the adverse balance is on the side of the enemy. We have lost Archangel, but after this initial Allied success there were no more. The sudden descent of the Allies there was intended to be the proverbial axe (of the Russian tale), out of which the soldier cooked his stew; instead of which the Anglo-French stew is cooking a great deal more slowly than the Allies expected. The cold season is approaching; the White Sea will be frozen over, and if by winter the Anglo-French expeditionary force is not united with the Czechoslovaks—and it will not be united—its position will be difficult to a degree, and there will be left for us only the task of clearing it off the ice of the White Sea, or from underneath it.

On the eastern front the situation is quite satisfactory. The initiative remains completely in the hands of our troops. On the Volga two important points remain in the hands of the enemy, Syzran and Samara. Against these at the present moment a far-reaching operation is in progress. I can promise you that they will be taken in a very short time. (The promise has since been fulfilled.) This will mean that

we shall clear the whole Volga, and that the Volga will become, what it should be, an honest Soviet river.

You are aware that operations on a large scale are also taking place in the Urals. After the Volga has been cleared these operations will naturally assume a much more successful character, but it is difficult to forecast and estimate beforehand their role of development. One may say with certainty, however, that the tract of territory occupied at present by the "Constitutionalists" will be evacuated, and that soon no regions will exist in which there is a compromise between the territory of the Soviet Dictatorship and the Black Hundreds.

On the southern front the fighting is developing, up to the present with varying success. There are good grounds, however, for believing that here, too, we are on the eve of a decisive alteration in our favour, that Krasnov's successes will soon be terminated, and that the northern Caucasus will soon be freed for Soviet Russia. (Since then, a crushing defeat has been inflicted by the Soviet troops on one of Krasnov's armies, and its entire staff, with General Lukomsky at its head, was captured.) I must observe here that our successes are being determined by the rapidity with which the Army is acquiring experience, and I cannot omit to mention the regiment which bears the name of the Soviet in which we are sitting, the regiment which was formed and trained in the province of Tula, under the direction of Comrade Fanushkov, decided the fate of Kazan. This was a catastrophe for our enemies, obvious from the fact that they left more artillery behind them in the city than they had captured there from us. The stores were left untouched and we received them as they had been surrendered; the artillery we recovered with an increase.

In the question of the Command personnel, we are also making headway. I have already pointed out that on the one hand from the soldiers' ranks, officers who are capable commanders are making their appearance. On the other hand, from amongst the former officer class we have already scores of workers, who have thrown in their lot with the Red Army; to say nothing of Comrade Vatssetiss, to whom must be ascribed the successes at Kazan.

The Czechoslovaks have done us an excellent service in the occupied territories. The districts they have held all meet the Red Army as liberators. Our successes have also another important result—they render acute the conflict amongst our enemies. We can, happily, say to one another that our own party, and the whole of the Soviet regime have, at no time, been so consolidated as at present. Meanwhile our enemies are falling apart "at every seam."

One cannot even talk now of the possibility of a catastrophe of any kind in the near future. The eyes of the White Guards are turned to Japan and America, and certainly a very real danger might threaten from those quarters; but they are separated from us by thousands of miles, and we have the whole winter at our disposal for strengthening our forces. Some sort of agreement has just been arrived at between Japan and the United States. We do not as yet know its scope or its attitude towards our party. But we have seen too often in this war how allies have been transformed into enemies; and the nearer we draw to the end of the world-war, the sharper become world-differences, the oftener do the friends of yesterday become the enemies of to-day.

Germany, as a power dangerous for us, is off the scene at present and for the near future. Bulgaria breaks the ranks, and Turkey, Roumania and Austria Hungary follow her example. The ruling classes of Germany can hardly find themselves armed to-day with the material power and the motives for a change of policy in the East. The exit of Bulgaria from the war weakens Germany, and tends to minimise her political terrorism towards us. In reply to the weakening of Germany, will come a revolt of the French proletariat.

Such are the prospects. Two months ago our position was very difficult; but we did not lay aside our labours, and if we have maintained ourselves until to-day, no power will overthrow us. We must take advantage of the next few months to strengthen and develop our Army. Relying on the authority of the Central Executive Committee and the sympathy of the industrial and peasant masses, we shall in a short time transform Russia, not in word but in deed, into an armed camp, and will overcome the conservatism of the provincial Soviet members, who do not always critically examine their standpoint on this question.

Comrade Krassin has the duty of equipping the Army. He is pushing ahead, and the statistical returns he has made in the last few days show that the work of supply is not at all in a bad way. The new calling-up of young men will produce several first-class divisions, which will constitute reserves for the Army. We beg you, on your side, to support with your authority the work of its formation. We must convince the British and French that their intervention here is not only a dishonourable crime, but a piece of disgraceful folly. Our resistance on the Eastern front will produce a gigantic effect on the other side of the Pacific; and to all our enemies on one side, to all our friends on the other, we shall show that we are a Power—that we must live and shall live.

A STRIKE FOR OVERTIME. By W. F. Watson.

"Got plenty of WORK, Fred?"

"Yes. Thank God!"

(Overheard in a train.)

The position I usually take up that the workers are always right when they strike must be reconsidered, for I hear that members of the E.T.U. at Troupe Curtis & Co. of East London are on strike for overtime. I am quite certain this is not the policy of the E.T.U., rather are they agitating for shorter hours. If the workers at Troupe Curtis were to strike for a 40 hour week with the same pay they received during the long weeks of overtime there would be some justification for their action; but to strike for overtime—!!

The A.S.E. men sent for the District Secretary Sam Bradley for advice (fancy needing advice on such a matter) and he promptly told them to knock off all O.T. except in cases of absolute necessity.

The following has been issued by the N.A.C. of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees:—

Reports are to hand from several committees respecting the shorter working hours. In connection with this the Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions are taking a ballot of their members for and against the acceptance of a 47 hour week, together with an agreement arrived at by the Trade Union officials and the Employers' Federations. The agreement embodies the initial steps towards the foisting of the "Whitley Committee" proposals upon the workers in the engineering and shipbuilding industry. You are requested to take all available measures to ensure the defeat of this ballot and, to this end, shop meetings should be immediately convened. As an alternative to the above proposals we recommend that conferences

of all workers should be convened, to which the following proposals should be submitted:—

1. The all-round reduction of the working week to 5 days per week, one day constituting 6 hours.
2. A further reduction, if necessary, to ensure employment for all.
3. No reduction of wages to accompany the adjustment of hours.
4. The cessation of wholesale dismissals.

MINERS AND THE SIX HOUR DAY.

Our congratulations to the miners on their determination to secure a 6-hour working day, both because the 6-hour day is long enough, and because a shortening of hours is necessary in order to prevent unemployment by absorbing all the mine workers into the industry. The miners are demanding a substantial increase in pay. But when will the miners take control of the industry? They are strong enough to do it whenever they please.

WOOLLEN OPERATIVES WANT SHORTER HOURS.

Woollen spinners and weavers are asking for a 45-hour week, but it is expected that they will accept 48 hours. An Industrial Council on Whitley lines has been formed for the woollen industry. Apparently, the operatives anticipate getting less through its agency than the miners are able to secure by their unions. This being so in regard to the reduction of hours, which, according to many experts, actually benefits the employer, it is obvious that nothing can be hoped from the Whitley Councils when the workers decide to take over the industries.

WHAT DO THE SOLDIERS SAY?

"The war has been won, or all but won. I cannot help sometimes regretting that it has not been protracted a little longer in order to gain a more complete victory."—Lord Curzon at a luncheon to the America Ambassador at the Pilgrim's Club, January 10th.

DEAR EDITOR,—In response to your appeal in a recent issue of *THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT* I have very great pleasure in enclosing 2s. 6d. towards your reserve fund. I have been a Socialist since 1885, and am in full sympathy with the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Régime in Russia, and elsewhere—when it can be established in place of ghastly, outworn autocracies of every description. Were I richer my contribution would be larger; as it is I am sending as much as I possibly can. I take *THE DREADNOUGHT* every week, and pass it on when read.

LOUISA SOMERVILLE.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—

New members welcomed, funds urgently needed. Donations will be gratefully received by Norah Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E. If there is no W.S.F. branch in your district take the initiative in forming one.

W.S.F. SOCIAL WORK.—The Mothers' Arms Day Nursery, 438, Old Ford Road, E. Cost Price Restaurant, &c., 20, Railway Street, Poplar. Parcels to Miss Lucy Burgess, 400, Old Ford Road; donations to N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E.

THE LEAGUE OF RIGHTS FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS WIVES AND RELATIVES.—Full particulars from Miss Gilbertson, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

WORK AND FATIGUE. By W. F. Watson.

THE GOD OF OUTPUT.

"In principle most people who have considered the present situation of the country, and its industries, are agreed that either its production must be increased manifold, or it must abandon its hope of maintaining its prosperity and improving its standard of life. Whether we like it or not, production, and particularly the excess of production that is now demanded, must be made in competition with other countries." *The Times Engineering Supplement*, December, 1918.

It matters not which paper one picks up, one is sure to find something therein concerning increased output. If it is not some treatise by an antiquated, fossilised, product of one of the Universities, who has never done a day's useful work or thinking in his life, it is an article by some engineering or labour correspondent, who has as much right so to term himself as Lloyd George. But perhaps the most nauseating of all are the reports of speeches of renegade Socialists and labour men who have sold their souls to the capitalists.

At a dinner of the Industrial League at the Connaught Rooms on Saturday, January 10th, Barnes who was the chief guest said,

"They had got to get the idea into the mind of the working man, that his interest and the interest of his country and fellow workmen, lay in his producing as much as possible while at the same time seeing that he got his fair share of his production."

"Mr. H. G. Roberts, the president of the league, announced that Sir William Dupree, of Portsmouth, had given £20,000 towards the funds of the league in recognition of the importance of its work in securing co-operation between employers and employed. Working men, said the speaker, must have good wages and ample leisure, but they must also realise that they had their duties and responsibilities as well as employers, and they must take an intelligent interest in all the principles governing their industry."

When one remembers that both these renegades were once members of the I.L.P. one finds it very difficult to believe in their sincerity. Not only these men but members of the Labour Party also worship at the shrine of output, all of whom, to my mind, will have to be repudiated in no uncertain terms by the new workers' movement.

Why should we workers concern ourselves with increased output under a capitalist system? It is all very well for alleged "engineering correspondents" in *The Times* and sycophantic ex-labour misleaders to tell us that increased production is essential to maintain our prosperity, and that it is in our own interests, but it is all so much eyewash. The duller minded of workers know that to beat the wicked "Hun" enormous quantities of wealth have been destroyed and the credit of the country pledged right up to the hilt. It

was the international boss class that caused Europe to be turned into a bloody shambles, and it is their business to get out of the mess as best they can. It is our business to make it increasingly difficult for them to get out of the mess, in the hopes that the mess will finally put them "out of mess."

The article from which the extract that heads this article is taken is mainly concerned with the economy of industrial energy, and endeavours to shew how, by conserving energy and preventing fatigue, more can be produced by less labour, working less hours. The writer realises the difficulties when he says:—

"A million or more of the country's best workers are dead or crippled or will be drawn into other occupations; and even when allowance has been made for the unexpected rich vein of labour that industry has tapped in its women workers, there is no prospect that the aggregate of British labour will be found greater than it was before the war. Therefore increased output requires indispensably an increased economy in the use of labour."

After explaining the meaning of energy, he tries to shew how the extent of fatigue varies, saying that output depends upon the fitness of the man and the condition of the shop, and because "as yet no generally accepted measure of fatigue has been devised" loss of output results. He then goes on to say:—

"The loss is the graver because the goodwill of all parties, which could at once abolish deliberate restrictions, is insufficient to reduce the inevitable loss of energy that arises from fatigue." Just so. And whilst industry is based upon a system of master and slave, employer and worker, the mass of the wage slaves will not distress themselves to increase output. On the contrary as they become more conscious of the rottenness of a capitalist system, entailing as it does the antagonism of interests between boss and workers, the workers will strive to restrict output; instance the demand of the miners for a six hour day, five days a week, and a minimum of £1 per day.

What always annoys me, and should arouse the fierce indignation of all workers, is the contemptuous way in which these professors and correspondents compare labour and the workers with some machine with which they can conduct experiments. In speaking of measurement of output this precious correspondent says—

"Here very minute experiments and observations have been possible, the operator being indeed studied as though he were a motor and not only his motions analysed and defined but the effects on pulse, respiration and temperature measured, and sometimes even the mechanical efficiency ascertained by comparing calorimetric observations with the amount of work actually done."

Unfortunately, the great mass of the workers lack the opportunity, or inclination to read such an article as the one under review. Even had they the time and desire they would, methinks, lack the imagination necessary to realise that their manhood is being consciously or unconsciously grossly insulted.

But I want to tell these beastly "engineering correspondents," wooden headed ignorant "professors" of the Barnes, Roberts, Wardle, Young, Brownlie and Henderson type, who are so concerned about increasing output, that there is an ever increasing minority, by no means pacifist, which does not propose to join the clown's chorus for more and more production. That minority, to which I am delighted to belong, intend by persistent propaganda and active agitation to make it increasingly difficult for the bosses to carry on industry at all. We propose to point out to the worker that it is not his (the worker's) business to help the boss out of the mess into which his knavery has landed him. It is the sacred duty of the workers to repudiate the vast accumulation of debt caused by the war, but at the same time to safeguard the interests of those myopian workers who were stupid enough to put money in war loans and such like. This can only be achieved by developing the workers' committee movement, by securing more and more control in the workshop, by increasing our efficiency in our own way, thereby preventing the boss from exploiting it; and by demanding a reduction of hours to absorb all workers, and increases in wages to enable all to secure the very highest standard of life.

Comrades, keep your eyes off what William Morris aptly describes as a "dung hill." Keep your minds off the relative merits of piece-work, bonus or day work; concentrate your mind, energy and activities on the complete overthrow of capitalism. Russia has started and Germany is following. France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Argentine and even Capitalist America are seething with discontent and revolt. Shall it be said of British workers that they lifted their chains and kissed them, whilst workers of other countries cast them off altogether?

The League of Nations stunt is a red herring. It is an international organisation of bosses formed to keep the workers in subjection. Rally to the Red Flag of Internationalism, and let the god of output be put out, until we have secured the power to ensure that the increased output will benefit none but the workers. Then we shall see to it that these confounded professors, renegades, &c., do their share of producing wealth.

IMPROBABLE NEWS.

WHAT A MILITANT RUSSIAN TELLS US.

This morning we met a friend who is particularly well informed on Russian questions and on the Soviet Republic. We asked: "Well, what do you say to the arrest of Lenin by Trotsky?"

"This news proves that the affairs of the Bolsheviks are improving—"

"Precisely, because their enemies must be on their beam ends to have recourse to such absurd imaginings."

It is not when Lenin tries to broaden the basis of the popular power that he will get at loggerheads with his original colleagues. It is too evident that the adhesion of the minimalists and Socialist revolutionaries—particularly that of Kropotkin—far from causing disruption, can only concentrate the block of the sincerely Socialist elements. In fact, you must entirely ignore the popularity of Lenin, and the services he has rendered to the Revolution, to believe for one moment that any revolutionary would attack him.

"What is the distribution of power between him and Trotsky?"

"Since Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky has only concerned himself with the organisation of the army, a work to which he has devoted the whole of his devouring energy, and to the 6th Congress of the Soviets, which has just been held at Moscow. At this Congress his agreement with Lenin was complete, and the decisions of the Congress are in favour of negotiations for peace with the Allies."

INDUSTRIAL ACTION.

The following resolution was passed by the Southwark Branch B.S.P. at their last meeting. "That this Branch urges that a joint conference of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress be called to protest against the Allied intervention in Russia, and to arrange to stop it by industrial action if necessary."

CHINA'S COMPLAINT.

China complains that Japan by force compelled her to sign unjust treaties and asks that these be set aside by the Peace Conference.

BUY THE DREADNOUGHT EVERY WEEK.

THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE PROTEST.

The West London Engineering Workers' Committee supported the National Federation of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors in a Trafalgar Square meeting on Saturday, January 11th, to protest against the discharge from national and controlled factories of disabled men, and the widows of soldiers and sailors. A deputation from the meeting was received by Sir Thomas Munro on the Government's behalf. He said that the difficulties had arisen because the General Election had taken away those responsible for nearly six weeks and the present Ministers were all new to their posts.

The deputation declared the reply to be unsatisfactory. One of the men's demands was that the out-of-work pay should be £2 10s. a week. In Russia it is the same as the wage earned when at work—but that is called Bolshevism!

Mr. G. H. Roberts is worried: he is afraid that in some industries the workers may take more out than they produce within the industry. He does not seem to be worrying about what is taken out of the industry by those who do no work at all! Mr. Roberts is most anxious that the workers shall not become parasitic; does he ever ask himself whether he has become a parasite on the Trade Union Movement?

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and the substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.
Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17th.

Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18th.

Waterloo Road, near the "Old Vic."—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 19th.

Salmon and Ball, Bethnal Green.—11.45 A.M., John Syme.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mr. Goldstone. Chair: Mr. Carford.

The Flagstaff, Hampstead.—3 P.M., Miss Price.

The Grove, Hammersmith.—6.30 P.M., Mr. Goldstone. Chair: Miss Birch.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 21st.

Grundy Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24th.

The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25th.

Great Push in Tottenham.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 19th.

4, York Street, Walworth (B.S.P.).—7.30 P.M., Mr. L. Hogben, 'What the Workers have done in Russia.'

MONDAY, JANUARY 20th.

44, Malden Road (St Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 26th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Miss P. Rickards, 'The Fight over 40 D.'; Mr. E. G. Smith, 'A Democratic Peace.' Chair: Miss N. Smyth. Discussion.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 19th.

Victoria Park.—12 A.M., East London Workers' Committee, Demonstration against Russian Intervention. (Meetings every Sunday).

400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

Kingsley Hall, Bow.—8.15 P.M., R. Sorensen.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 21st.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Hodge.

"Russia The Despotism of The Past."

Chair: Miss Horsfall.

FEDERATION NOTES.

Members and friends who can help on the afternoon of February 4th are asked to write to Miss N. Smyth.

Clerical help is urgently needed at 400 Old Ford Road and 152 Fleet Street.

A very successful meeting was held at St. Pancras Branch on Wednesday, January 8th, Mrs. Cole speaking on the stand of the C.O. The meeting was well attended and a good discussion followed, the general feeling being that the C.O.s are the bravest men of all and that we should stand by them at all cost. There was a good collection. We invite both men and women to join our branch.—E. BRUNSDEN, Secretary.

BOW.—Hon. Secretary: N. L. SMYTH, 400 Old Ford Road, E. Next meeting Wednesday, January 22nd. Important matters to discuss. Members who can help to make known the Meeting on Sunday, January 26th, 7 P.M., should write to the Hon. Secretary; also those willing to take charge of a literature stall in Roman Road on Saturdays, and to sell DREADNOUGHTS and literature at meetings, &c.

SHEFFIELD.—Hon. Secretary: MRS. CARFORD, 183 West Street. Good outdoor meetings, with which members from London assisted, have been held against the intervention in Russia, and 27,000 free leaflets against the intervention have been distributed. More literature sellers needed.

The "Dreadnought" Needs YOUR Help!

DREADNOUGHT FUND (December).—Cockney Fair, profit, £75; Anonymous, £25; Miss Scott, £10; Mr. J. Leakey, £6; Anonymous, £5; Anonymous, £5; New Zealand W.I.L., £4 1s. 1d.; Sir D. M. Stevenson, £2; Mrs. Montgomery, £2; Mr. S. A. Chandler, £1 10s.; Mr. F. Lawes, £1 0s.; Mrs. Kinton, £1; Mr. W. Carter, £1; Mr. H. J. Davies, £1; Mrs. M. Almond, £1; Mrs. S. Birch, £1; Mr. A. Carford, £1; Mrs. Entwistle, 10s.; Mr. Hervey, 10s.; Mrs. Minter Scott, 10s.; Mr. A. St. John, 10s.; Mr. Newirth, 10s.; Mr. F. Anstey, 10s.; Mr. A. T. Rodgers, 10s.; Mrs. Mayhew, 10s.; Mrs. Brimley, 10s. (2s. 6d. w.); Miss P. Eyre, 9s. 2d.; Mrs. Dersh, 7s.; Mr. J. Morton, 5s. (m.); Mrs. Herbergova, 5s.; Mr. I. P. Hughes, 5s.; Mr. Bachrach, 4s.; Mrs. Richmond, 4s. (2s. f.); Anonymous, 3s.; Mrs. Somerville, 2s. 6d.; Mr. G. Hewlett, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Toop, 2s. 6d. (m.); Mrs. Baillie Weaver, 2s. 6d. (m.); Miss Newsome, 1s. (m.).

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1ld. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

Mrs. Litvinoff, 11, Bigwood Road, N.W.4, requires TWO FURNISHED ROOMS for herself and two babies; London or suburbs.

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MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

SOCIALISTS OF CROYDON, Your First New Year's Resolution for 1919 should be to send 2/- (4d. stamps) for 24 weeks prepaid subscription to Croydon's Own Socialist Weekly, THE EPISTLE. Offices, 112 Woodville Road, Thornton Heath.

EDWARD SOERMUS, the "Russian Violinist," has several open dates, "week nights," in January and February. No Sundays available. March dates all booked. Free from April 1st onwards. Apply to Harry Morris, 10 Fairview Terrace, Merthyr.

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IRELAND'S NOTE TO AMERICA.

"Dr. Patrick McCartan, Irish envoy to America, on the receipt of the news of the Republican victory in Ireland, presented a note to all diplomats in America, and to every United States Senator and Congressman, informing them that—

"Exercising the inherent right of self-determination of a sovereign people, Ireland on December 28th by a majority of more than two-thirds severed all political relations with Great Britain. The Irish nation, therefore, does not recognise his Britannic Majesty as King of Ireland. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is at an end, and the Republic of Ireland denies the right of any Foreign Government henceforth to enter into negotiations concerning the Irish people with the Government of his Britannic Majesty."

Printed by J. E. Francis, 11 and 13 Bream's Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

WHAT WILL SINN FEIN DO NEXT?

The Editor of one of the Sinn Fein weeklies, *An Saoghal Gaelhealtach*, *The Irish World*, answers the oft-repeated question as follows:—

"The first step of the Republican Parliament ought to be a Declaration of Independence, a Declaration of Ireland's intention to take upon herself the control of her own affairs. The Republican Parliament possesses the authority to make such a Declaration on behalf of the nation, and to send that Declaration to every nation in the world and to the Peace Conference.

"The next step should be to make a formal demand on England for the immediate release of all Irish men and women imprisoned by England contrary to international law. The case for the release of the prisoners does not rest upon whether there was or was not a plot, but upon the fact that England's writ, by virtue of which those men and women are imprisoned, is not international and can have no moral, legal, or constitutional force in Ireland, any more than it can in America.

"The next step should be to present a formal demand to England for the evacuation by England of this country by a certain date, which demand should be sent to all nations and also to the Peace Conference. It should at the same time appoint plenipotentiaries to discuss the necessary details with any plenipotentiaries whom England may desire to appoint for the purpose.

"The next step should be to undertake the organisation of the whole country behind the Republican Parliament and the manipulation of its government on a broad, co-ordinated plan. In order to control Ireland it is not necessary to levy and collect Republican taxes, as *The Irish Times* fondly imagines, but it is necessary to control every public Board and Committee in the country, however obscure. Boards of Guardians, County Councils, District Councils, Corporations, Harbour Boards, Asylum Boards, Cornmarket Committees, Public Health Committees, Tolls and Markets Committees—these are the actual machinery of everyday government, these can be made a predominantly Republican as the Parliamentary representation at the next elections, which are due, we understand, in June. With the Parliamentary representation and the whole machinery of local government Republican, dovetailing into each other on a clear thought-out policy, and manipulated as a whole towards the one goal, the result is a foregone conclusion.... we can so-manipulate local government in Ireland

as to make all its operations subsidiary to the decision of the Republic in Parliament, in the event of England refusing to abide by the decision of the Irish People. It has been made clear over and over again in the last four years that even a great Empire can only govern a determined small nation against its will by the sword. If Ireland is determined to be free, as determined as Belgium was, England cannot prevent her achieving her freedom. She can maintain an army of occupation, but no army of occupation can fight against moral insurrection, and we are going to be the stayers this time.

"We have won our principles to the fealty of all Ireland. Two years ago an Irish Republic was the dream of a handful of men who died. Let us carry on their work in their spirit, in their assumption of international status, in the national breadth of view...."

IRELAND'S ACCEPTANCE OF BRITISH RULE.

The Irish World further argues:—

"So long as Ireland sent her representatives to Westminster to uphold the English constitution Ireland as a whole could not logically complain of injustice. Practically speaking, there could be no injustice, for Ireland had accepted the constitution and the political theory under which injustices were committed. If England had any right to govern Ireland, then she had also a right to shoot, hang, and imprison Irishmen; and so long as Ireland admitted England's right to govern her England's position in Ireland was practically unassailable. When, therefore, England in May last imprisoned De Valera and Griffith and Mrs. Clarke she was acting within her strict rights as the situation then stood.

UNTIL THE REPUBLIC.

"But now the situation has changed. Ireland has committed the most complete and authentic act of self-determination that has been committed within a living Empire since Hungary refused to compromise her rights in the Austrian Parliament sixty years ago. She has refused any longer to recognise England's title in Ireland, she has formally withdrawn from England's Parliament more than 70 per cent of her representatives, and she has notified the nations of the world that she puts an end to the political connection with England.